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ABSTRACT

The hypothesis of this study was that a behavioral, activity oriented approach to group meetings would produce a greater change in maternal child rearing practices than one utilizing a lecture, question and answer paradigm. A total of 65 women whose children were in an early education program, were divided into two experimental groups and a control group. The parents were told about their role in their child's school performance, the skills their children would need in school, and how they could foster the development of these skills in their child rearing practices. Results show that participation in a parent education program can produce significant changes in child rearing attitudes and practices. The experimental mothers showed a significant increase in behaviors nurturant of identification and cognitive growth in the child. Among the greatest changes in group members were an increased sense of mastery, and enhanced aspirations for themselves. Suggestions for further studies are made, including investigation of the father in the parental education program. (KJ)

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TWO APPROACHES TO GROUP WORK WITH PARENTS
IN A COMPENSATORY PRESCHOOL PROGRAM

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In our industrial society, the educational institution is virtually the only legal channel of upward mobility for young people from families of low socioeconomic status. There is little indication that there will be a reversal of this trend in the coming decades. The tragedy is that many children from such families enter school with environmentally produced cognitive and skill deficits which hinder the ability to respond to the preferred educational program, even one which has been restructured and up-dated. As a consequence, a large number of these youngsters never fulfill their potential and are eventually classified as mentally handicapped. An even larger number remain marginal students who absorb only a small percentage of the curriculum and too often drop out of school before graduation, defeated and likely to achieve minimal occupational success, if any.

Recent research has given strong indication that this pattern of failure need not occur for it is often an unstimulating home environment and specific child-rearing patterns which contribute to the production of a limited learner.*

Work by Hess and Shipman (1969), Gray et al (1967), Brady (1968), Kamii and Radin (1967), Wolf (1969), Bernstein (1965), Deutsch (1963), Bayley and Schaefer (1964) and many others have shown that characteristics of the disadvantaged home often converge to produce a milieu dysfunctional for school success. The language pattern does not evoke complex logical thinking; the punitive disciplinary practices foster reliance on external sources of control

* Although the institution of the school is also a major contributor to the problem and in need of serious restructuring, the authors believe that child-rearing practices cannot be ignored. The program to be described below focuses on the socialization process. However as parents become involved in the program, they are encouraged to think critically of the school system and of ways to modify the institution so as to make it more responsive to their youngsters. It is hoped that those who focus on institutional change will similarly incorporate child-rearing practices in their programs.

rather than inner control; the absence of role models hinders the learning of study skills; the scarcity of reading and writing materials restricts the child's intellectual growth; the emphasis on physical prowess and toughness contradicts the school's values; the stress on obedience rather than consideration of alternative solutions to problems hinders innovative, problem-solving thinking; the reliance on fate rather than on efforts to achieve success minimizes the development of planful behavior which considers consequences; and the control exerted by parents tends to inhibit rather than encourage exploration and inquiry.

The tragic irony is that low-income parents do share the values of middle-class society for academic success. They too, want their children to do well and reap the benefits of an affluent society. The difference is that middle-class parents know how to attain their goals whereas lower-class parents, for the most part, do not. There is a "hidden curriculum" as researchers have labelled it, in middle-class homes preparing the child for school and promoting his learning once he enters the educational institution. In the view of many theorists and practitioners, knowledge of this "hidden curriculum" must be imparted to disadvantaged parents if the vast majority of their children are to function effectively within schools. To achieve that end, a wide variety of intervention programs have been developed. Some of these incorporate parent education into a preschool or kindergarten program (Deutsch, 1965; Radin and Weikart, 1967; Orphan and Radin, in press.) Other efforts are directed almost exclusively to parents (Karnes, 1968; Painter, 1968; Gray and Klaus, 1965; Gordon, 1966).

In spite of the abundance of programs focused on modifying child-rearing techniques, many specifics are still unknown as Brim (1959) and Karnes have pointed out. One unanswered question concerns methodology. No program has provided information about the most effective pedagogical technique of reaching low-income mothers when content is controlled. In an effort to reduce this knowledge gap, the group parent education component of the Early Education Program was developed.

The hypothesis tested was that a behavioral, activity-oriented approach to group meetings would produce a greater change in maternal child-rearing practices than one utilizing a lecture and question and answer paradigm. It was also hypothesized that the former pedagogic approach would produce greater cognitive development in the preschool child. Another hypothesis generated was that mothers in programs using either approach would show greater changes in child-rearing attitudes and practices than a matched control group not offered a group parent program. Similarly, it was hypothesized that the children of mothers in group programs would show greater cognitive growth than children of mothers in the control group.

An activity mode was predicted to be the more effective approach because it emphasized learning through experience rather than verbal interaction. For a population such as the mothers of the Early Education Program with little exposure to formal group discussion, reliance on language for learning was felt to be of limited utility.

Procedure

The group parent program to be described was a component of a more comprehensive preschool program, whose curriculum was focused on Piaget's

theory of cognitive development. The Early Education Program of Ypsilanti, Michigan*, served 100 low-income four-year old children who attended school $\frac{1}{2}$ day, four days per week. In addition, there were biweekly home visits in which the children were tutored by their teachers in the presence of their mothers. Efforts were made in these visits to involve mothers in the educative process so that they might carry on similar activities as part of their everyday life. The group parent education project focused on child-rearing practices which facilitate academic achievement and inner control. A full description of the EEP which is beyond the scope of this paper appears in other reports.

The parent group program was offered to all 93 mothers in the program**. Seventeen mothers with full time jobs were not available, and 11 mothers refused to participate, offering minor excuses. The remaining 65 women were matched on critical independent variables, such as race, amount of education, age, work status, presence of father in the home, and placed into three separate groups. Two of these were experimental groups, one with 24 members, and another with 28. Both experimental groups were offered the same content using two pedagogic approaches, to be described below. The third group, consisting of 32 mothers, served as a control.

The specific goals of the parent group program were:

1. To inform parents of the vital role they play in their children's school performance through their child management practices.
2. To inform parents of the specific skills and attitudes which their children require for school success.
3. To inform parents about child-rearing practices which can foster the development of these skills and attitudes.

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** In seven homes no mother was present.

The program was presented as a course which consisted of three units, each composed of six weekly meetings, for a total of 18 meetings over the year. In the interest of fostering a sense of achievement, a certificate of completion was presented after each unit to those mothers who had attended 2/3 of the meetings. Incentives were also offered to encourage mothers' attendance. These took the form of small educational gifts for their children which would stimulate mother-child cognitive interaction and also create a new lobbying group, namely the children, who pressured their mothers to attend meetings so that they might receive their gifts.

Content of the Group Parent Program

The curriculum content of the course moved from a highly concrete level in the first unit to an increasingly abstract level in the third unit. Unit I dealt specifically with principles derived from learning theory, such as the use of reinforcement for shaping and increasing desirable behaviors, and methods for decreasing or extinguishing undesirable behaviors. These principles were discussed in the context of parents' everyday experiences with their children.

The second unit focused on child management techniques which foster cognitive development in the context of commonplace housekeeping and play activities. For example, role playing was presented as a valuable activity which lends itself to cognitive stimulation and child management. A misbehaving youngster could be diverted by his mother into a role playing activity which substituted a desirable behavior for the undesirable actions. The intellectual value of role playing arose from the opportunities it offered for symbolization and decentering, both critical in later academic studies.

The third and final unit, based on principles derived from child development theory and social psychology, dealt with parental attitudes and practices which lead to the development of attitudes and skills in the child needed for school achievement. Specifically, the children's behaviors focused upon were: inner controls, self-direction, problem solving skills, and achievement motivation. Theory also guided the selection of child management attitudes and practices to be presented to the parents. These were nurturing of identification through reinforcement, sensitivity to the needs of the child, and consultation with the child, and nurturing of academic interests, through cognitive stimulation in the home environment.

The principles of behavior modification introduced in Unit I were stressed throughout all three units. For example, parents were urged to utilize reinforcement in order to promote the frequency of behaviors in their children which exhibited inner control or persistence. They were also informed of constructive uses of negative reinforcement so that anticipation of consequences could result and not merely blind obedience through fear.

Approaches for Teaching Content

A lecture-oriented approach was utilized in one experimental group, where the major input came from a leader rather than the members although time for discussion was allowed toward the end of the meeting. In a second experimental group the approach was activity-oriented. Here the presentation was structured to involve the active participation of members through such means as role playing and behavior rehearsals, problem solving activities about specific child management problems brought up by members, and home assignments which introduced application of child management principles.

Ample reinforcement was provided to members for their participation, in the form of praise, attention and comments by the leader.

Evaluation

The instruments used to test the hypothesis were as follows:

1. The revised P.A.R.I. developed by Radin and Glasser (1965) for use with low-income families.
2. The Cognitive Home Environment Scale (Radin and Sonquist, 1968) which assesses the intellectual stimulation present in the home.
3. Teacher observations of mothers' behavior with children during 8 home visits. The teachers were generally unaware of the parent group to which the mothers were assigned. Information about parent-child interactions observed were recorded as part of a lengthy report of their home visits.
4. The change in Binet IQ during the preschool program was used as a measure of intellectual growth of the child.

Quantitative Findings

A Comparison of the Two Experimental Groups Combined versus the Control Group

As Table 1 indicates, the demographic characteristics of the experimental group and the control group were similar except on number of siblings which was significantly higher for the experimental groups. Table 2 reflects the fact that the experimental mothers made significantly greater gains in the desired direction than control mothers in the area of child-rearing attitudes and practices. In 12 of 15 items in which there were significant differences in the change scores between experimental and control mothers, the former moved toward practices more supportive of school-related behaviors. For example, there was a greater increase in cognitive stimulation and in respect given to the child as an independent thinking individual. Teacher observations of mothers' behavior with their children showed no significant

differences as Table 3 reveals. A trend was noted, nonetheless, for experimental mothers to use less punishment than control mothers. Regarding the short-term intellectual gains in the children, as Table 4 indicates, there were not significant differences between experimental and control groups. The mean Binet IQ gains for Groups 1, 2, and 3 respectively were 9.2, 8.8, and 8.9.

A Comparison of the Effectiveness of the Two Pedagogic Techniques - Total Group 1 vs. Total Group 2

Table 1 reveals that the groups were matched on the major independent variables. No significant difference in holding power was noted between the groups, as Table 5 indicates. In each case, approximately 50% of those who came once, became strong members, defined as those who came to 50% or more of the 8 meetings. The mean numbers of members at each meeting was approximately 6.9 for both groups. The mean number of meetings attended by those who came to at least 1 meeting was 7.6 for both groups.

No significant differences appeared between the groups in impact of pedagogic approach on the mothers on any of the measures used, as Table 3 and Table 6 indicate. Similarly, as is clear from Table 4, there was no significant difference in the children's changes in Binet IQ.

A Comparison of the Strong Members of Group 1 vs. Strong Members of Group 2

In the previous section, the two total groups were compared deliberately overlooking the fact that some mothers had attended few or no meetings. This was done to be certain that the selectivity factor did not contaminate the findings. However, this rigorous approach also diluted the effect of the treatment. The strong group members of both groups were therefore analyzed to

determine if there were any detectable differences in those maximally exposed to the program.

Table 7 reflects the characteristics of the strong members of the two groups. Group 1 had significantly more Negroes than Group 2, but were similar in all other respects. To determine if the approach was selectively attractive to Negroes an examination of attendance at each meeting was made. It was found that chance factors accounted for the difference in racial composition between groups. Those Negro mothers who became strong members in Group 1 did so right from the beginning, and were not drawn into the group later by word of mouth. In contrast, a large number of Negro mothers never attended a single meeting in Group 2 to determine whether or not it would be attractive to them.

Regarding impact on mothers, as Table 6 indicates, initial scores on PARI class-sensitive items were not statistically different between groups, strong members of the lecture-discussion group tended to be more middle-class in attitude than strong members of the activity group.* Change scores on PARI class-sensitive items were not significantly different, but there was a trend towards more attitude change on these items in strong members of the discussion group than the strong members of the activity group. Similarly, Table 9 indicates that the strong members of the lecture-discussion group were rated more highly by teachers on almost all of the ratings than strong members of the activity group. This difference is significant at the .05 level when the sign test is used.

* For a detailed explanation of the analyses of PARI class sensitive scores, see Radin and Glasser (1965). In general those scores refer to items which show the greatest socio-economic class differences.

Thus, it appeared that strong members of the lecture-discussion group, predominately white, responded somewhat more to the program than the strong members of the activity group. This difference might be seen as related to the racial differences between the two groups. However, analysis of the responses of weak members of the program does not support this assumption. Weak members of the activity group, predominantly Negro, changed more than weak members of the lecture-discussion group. Thus, it is not likely that the racial factor accounted for the differences found in the strong (or weak) membership of the activity and discussion groups.

There were no significant differences between groups on children's intellectual gain on the Binet as Table 4 clearly shows.

A Comparison of Weak Members of Group 1 vs. Weak Members of Group 2

To determine the effect of the parent program on those who attended few meetings, the weak members (those attending less than 50% of the meetings) of the two groups were compared. As Table 7 indicates, there were no significant demographic differences between the two groups. However, the weak members of Group 1 appeared to be of a lower socio-economic group. There were more mothers on welfare, without husbands, and not working. In addition, there were more Negroes in this group.

There were no significant differences between groups in attitude changes on class-sensitive PARI items. However, there was a trend for more attitude change to take place in weak members of the activity group than the discussion group, as Table 6 indicates. Similarly, there was no significant difference between groups on teacher observations of mother's behavior as Table 8 shows, but a trend was noted for more reinforcing behavior in activity group weak members than in discussion group weak members.

Once again, no significant differences in the children's intellectual gains were found between groups. (See Table 4)

Additional Findings

One of the areas explored was that of predictors of attendance at meetings. Tables 9&10 reflect the fact that a large number of variables correlated positively and significantly with mothers' attendance at meetings. These were:

- Educational materials in the home
- Mother's education
- Non-welfare status of the family
- Mother's skill level
- Mother's non-authoritarian attitude toward child-rearing
- Presence of father in the home
- Father's skill level
- Child's initial Binet IQ

These findings are in keeping with those of Manninot and Conant (1969) who found "drop outs" of parent groups to be of a lower socio-economic class than those who remained members.

Another question investigated was the characteristics of the non-participants. The 16 members who attended no meetings were compared with the 17 mothers who were working full-time (and were classified as The Non-Availables) and the 13 mothers who offered a variety of reasons for being unable to attend and were not included in the experimental design (The Refusers).

Three distinct syndromes emerged from an examination of independent teacher observations of parent behavior, demographic data, parent replies to questionnaires, and test data. Tables 1, 3, and 4 provide information about the three groups. Table 11 indicates that the Non-Attenders (who always promised to come to the next meeting but failed to attend) had the lowest education, the highest percent on welfare, the most families with

no father, the highest number of non-working mothers and children with the lowest Binet IQ's. The "Non-Available" group had the lowest percent on welfare, the highest percent of working mothers, and children with the highest initial IQ's. The "Refusers" were predominantly Negro (82%) and had the fewest families without fathers.

Table 3 indicates that the Refusers were the least involved in home visits and were the most punitive in their child rearing practice. The Non-Attenders, on the other hand, made the best use of material left by teachers. The greatest attitude change took place in the "Not-Available" group; the least in the "Refuser" group as Table 12 indicates.

The sharpest difference between the groups appears in Table 4. Where the children of the "Non-Attenders" and "Not-Available" mothers gained 7.8 IQ points and 8.0 points respectively, the children of the "Refusers" lost a mean of .2 points. This difference was statistically significant.

Combining all of the data it appears that the Non-Attenders can be characterized as apathetic women who are the most economically dependent but who can respond to an out-reach program in their own homes. The Non-Available mothers appear to be less alienated from society, are working, and thus have limited time to participate in the program, but are responsive nonetheless.

The Refusers appear to be the most resistant and punitive women whose children seem to benefit least from the preschool program although the youngsters are not the most intellectually limited upon entrance to the program. It is possible these mothers would not be resistant to other types of programs, or programs under other auspices. No information is available on the question of whether their husbands played a role in their refusal to join.

Qualitative Findings

This section will discuss first, the impact of the parent education program on the mothers, and secondly, the differential effectiveness of the two pedagogic approaches.

Impact on mothers -- Mothers' comments and observations about changes in their children as a result of this program focused on their improved behavior. The following are examples of comments that were made:

"She really learned to put her toys away when I started using that reward system instead of just nagging her. Now she does it without any stars, just my praise sometimes. I'm using that system now to get her to brush her teeth every day."

"You taught us to give our kids alternatives instead of flat orders all the time. The other day I forgot to and I ordered my daughter to stop yelling. She caught me short and said, 'You forgot my choice, Mommy. What's my choice?' Giving alternatives really results in her choosing one and sticking to it. It really helps."

"I guess I'm really learning to use new ways of managing our children that you've been teaching us, and it's not just my preschooler who's benefiting. It's my older boy, too. I've been doing these things with him, too. Instead of yelling at him and spanking him all the time I've been using some of those other ways we've talked about to handle him. Do you know, he's raised every single one of his grades on his last report card! He seems much more relaxed and happy since I've been less cranky with him."

"You get so much further if you give choices. You may have to bend, but it's really worth it."

Although the mother's new child-rearing practices were, on the whole successful in achieving desired behavior with these children, the new approach often became a source of friction with their husbands. These mothers reported that their husbands felt they were "too soft" when they used consultation methods, and gave explanations with their requests. The husbands did not believe in reinforcing a child for his good behaviors which "should be happening anyhow", but did believe in punishment for bad behaviors to prevent

them from occurring again. The mothers also objected to the men's resistance to playing an active role with the children, spending time with them, playing with them, reading to them, etc.. The need to educate their husbands to what they felt were more desirable child-rearing practices became the impetus for a husband-wife social evening of skits and small group discussions on specific child-rearing issues which concerned them. The mothers wrote and produced the skits themselves to focus on these issues and planned the entire evening.

While the focus was primarily on child-rearing issues, in time the discussions moved beyond the home to the school system. As mothers felt a growing sense of competence in their ability to manage their children's behavior, and as they recognized the unique assets of this preschool program, they articulated their desire to involve themselves in securing this same kind of improved education for their children in future years. It was not a long step to developing a plan of action to secure an enriched kindergarten program for their children. The action plan involved the mothers of both groups, who drew up and presented a petition to the superintendent and school board, signed by an impressive list of almost all of the mothers in the program. They also wrote a letter to the editor protesting an article appearing in the local paper by which they were offended. This move towards increased activity and self-confidence was also manifested in the number of mothers who took on part or full-time jobs and investigated courses in the local community college and high school adult education program. Many working mothers indicated a desire to improve their skills in order to secure better jobs.

The impact on racial attitudes of the participant mothers was also significant. Gordon Allport (1954) in his review of the research on intergroup contact and prejudice delineated four circumstances which must be present

in an integrated group if there is to be a reduction of racial prejudice:

1. Equal status in the situation
2. Shared superordinate goal or interest
3. Positive support by authorities of their group interaction
4. Cooperative interdependence upon one another.

All four of these factors were present in the two experimental groups, where parents shared their goal of learning effective child-rearing practices, in a group situation established with the approval of the school. They experienced equal status as "interested mothers", and were cooperatively interdependent on one another in role playing, problem-solving group discussions, and planning for their social "change" activities.

Remarkable candor developed among discussion group members, in particular, around the area of race and prejudice, although no formal effort was made by the group leader to introduce this as a topic for discussion. It grew out of the needs of the group to deal with it as they came to know and like each other as persons, and resulted in a determined effort by some white members to confront themselves with their own prejudices and to modify their behaviors.

In sum, the group parent program appeared to give to its members a sense of mastery and of professional parenthood, i.e., they became concerned with improvement of their own performances in the role of parent.

In the activity group meetings there was a reluctance by most members to initiate discussions, and considerable dependence on the leader was manifested. The leader structured many activities during the meetings, but rarely did members lend something to these activities which stemmed from their own need to explore an issue. Their embarrassment at "exposing themselves" in role playing exercises was acute, and they tended to deal superficially with their specific problems in child rearing, avoiding threatening topics.

Despite this, there was considerable participation by the members in the exercises. Most mothers did their home assignments and came prepared to discuss them in the group. A norm for "work" rather than for "play" developed very rapidly. Members seemed to find the program suggestive of an actual "course" for which one prepares and studies and in which they took pride.

In the lecture-discussion group meetings the leader presented the same content in lecture form, with a short question period at the end. However, after the first unit, members started to play a more active role in directing the course of the meetings. They would interrupt the lecture to direct a context-relevant problem to the group for discussion. They would challenge each other and the leader. They would discuss applications of the material in home situations and how they worked or failed. If the latter, they would ask the group for their ideas on alternative techniques. They looked to each other, as well as to the leader, for opinions and ideas. Silent members, in time, were drawn out; high support was given to shy mothers for their participation in the group. When one such mother declined to come to the parent pot luck the others refused to accept her hesitancy and shyness and offered her innumerable supports to make it easier for her to come, e.g., "We'll pick you up -- I'll loan you a dress, I'm your size -- that dress you wear here is perfectly fine for the pot luck -- you'll sit with us at the table."

It was largely the members of this group who wrote and produced the skits for the joint pot luck. The skits produced a flurry of self-initiated get-togethers for planning, rehearsing, etc., in their own homes. A white mother used such a rehearsal to invite some Negro group members to her home with their children, to show her new indignation about the segregated practices and prejudices of her neighbors. This move followed upon many weeks of

wrestling with her own attitudes through discussion with members of the group and with her child's teacher during home visits. The group was very touched by her action, and cohesion became stronger than ever.

The contrast between the two groups became more and more marked as time went by. In the early stages of the course, the activity group members participated more in meetings than the discussion group members because of the exercises and assignments which drew them out. However, in the middle and later stages the discussion group members became more intensely involved as they brought their own issues and needs to the foreground to be discussed by the group.

Discussion

Comparison of the experimental and control groups reveal that participation in a parent education program can produce significant changes in child-rearing attitudes and practices. The experimental mothers showed a significant increase in behaviors nurturant of identification and cognitive growth in the child. The approach utilized to transmit the same content did not affect the attractiveness of the groups. Both had equal holding power. Neither racial factors, working status, nor family size deterred mothers from becoming deeply involved group members.

It was found that those who came to most meetings tended to be the least disadvantaged and the most middle-class oriented. This finding indicates there is a need for another type of program or additional aspects to a program of this nature, if lower-lower class mothers are to become involved in group parent education programs. The analysis of the categories of non-attenders, however, warns against the development of a monolithic program. A differential

approach would undoubtedly be more effective in reaching the different sub-groups within the non-attender or poor-attender classification.

The lack of superior intellectual growth by the children of the experimental mothers suggests that parent's education may be more valuable for long term growth of the child than for short term change in a compound intervention such as the Early Education Program. In this program, unlike Karnes' (1968) project both control group and experimental children received an enriched classroom experience and home tutorials in their mothers' presence. These experiences alone may produce the maximum short-term intellectual growth. A study of children in a special kindergarten program revealed significant difference in intellectual growth between children whose mothers received parent counseling the previous year and those who did not (Radin, 1969).

It appeared that among the greatest changes in the group members were an increased sense of mastery, and enhanced aspirations for themselves. Klaus and Gray reported similar findings in their study. None of these results were anticipated or measured objectively. Such behavior may be a necessary intervening variable of long-term change as competence in one area arouses the desire for competence in others, ultimately in parent-child relations. This suggests that a wide variety of instruments must be utilized to evaluate parent education programs. For example, of significance are:

- a) Greater participation in school and community.
- b) Improved educational and vocational aspirations for self, manifested by enrollment in courses or job training.
- c) Changing to a job which permits regular routine in family life.
- d) Adoption of routines in home management and child care.
- e) Participation in self-help activities such as reciprocal baby sitting, car pools, etc..

Insofar as the effectiveness of the activity and discussion approaches are concerned, no statistical differences appeared on any dimensions when the total populations of the groups were concerned. However, significant differences were noted where strong members of both groups were compared. Strong members of the discussion group showed more desirable behavior in home visits than did strong members of the activity group. The former also showed a trend toward more attitude change than the latter in spite of the fact that their attitudes were more middle class initially.

When weak members of both groups were analyzed, there was a trend for the members of the activity group to show more change than the members of the discussion group. This suggests that they were able to benefit more from the limited exposure to the parent program. The explanation for this trend may relate to the nature of the member-leader interaction in the two groups. Although the lecture-discussion group was started with the leader doing most of the instructing, it soon evolved into a group in which members brought up their own specific concerns and assumed the leadership themselves. They became deeply involved in the discussions and became a very cohesive group with strong liking for one another and strong group norms for utilization of their learnings at home with their children. The members of the activity group, on the other hand, participated in the role playing and assignments, but continued to play a passive role. The leader remained the teacher structuring the program essentially according to her initial plans.

It may be that the group cohesion which developed in the lecture discussion group was powerful in enforcing the new norms. However, this cohesion required time to evolve and those who attended infrequently did not become caught up in the group feeling. On the other hand, the activity approach which

structured experiential learning situations within group meetings and involved the total person could have immediate effects, but may have been unattractive to more independent women. Thus, strong members of the activity group, the least independent in nature, were least likely to generalize the new learnings to situations at home. The net effect was for the strong members of the discussion group to show more change than the strong members of the activity approach but the reverse situation was true of the weak members of both groups. The fact that the weak members of the activity group were from a more disadvantaged background than their counterparts in the discussion group also suggests that the activity approach may be the most effective with the most deprived.

Such an analysis leads to several conclusions:

There is an interactional effect of length of exposure, member characteristics, and pedagogical approach. Limited exposure appeared to yield superior results with an activity approach while lengthier exposure yielded superior results with a discussion orientation. Such an interaction effect should be considered in forming groups and deciding on appropriate learning approaches. It could be very useful to utilize attitude tests as predictors of approaches most suitable to respondents' orientations.

If a group is to have a long term existence, it may be most productive to start off with an activity-structured orientation which lends itself to maximum participation and to new learning in a restricted setting. However, this should be transformed, in time, into a member-directed group to enhance the development of group norms and to foster the generalization of the learnings to the home problems. A "laboratory" exercise is no substitute for a discussion of a genuine problem which concerns a mother. A member-directed

group encourages presentation of such problems to the group, and use of the group as a problem-solving body.

In sum, this study points to the benefits of a dual focus, but suggests that a wider variety of instruments is needed to evaluate the short-term and long-term effects of an intervention program on both intervening and criterion variables. Further, in order for suitable content and approach to be utilized, considerably more must be known about the interplay between the characteristics of the clientele, and the pedagogic approach used. The effectiveness of the program depends upon these interactions.

Although not explored in this study, three additional issues arose during the program which the authors feel must be given serious consideration in future parent education programs. One issue focuses on the role of social action. It may be that such activity enhances the mother's feeling of competency and thus her desire to be more effective in parent-child interactions. If this is true, perhaps social action should be considered an important if not critical component of parent programs. The second issue which needs examining is the assumption that the same child-rearing techniques are equally suitable for all children, regardless of sex or race. There is a growing body of literature indicating that differentiations must be made. Negro boys particularly may need firmer controls (Solomon, 1968; Epps, 1969; Radin, 1969). The third issue relates to the role of the father in parent education programs. They cannot be ignored, yet to include them in all activities may be a disservice to one-parent families. The proper mix is yet to be determined. Perhaps parent education programs will have to develop sub-groups focused on family interactions in which only couples would participate. Perhaps groups composed of fathers, exclusively, may be more

attractive to men than mixed male-female groups. The latter might not allow fathers to program group activities and discussions around their own perceived images of the male role in family life. It is hoped that all of these questions will be investigated in the near future, both on a theoretical and controlled empirical basis.

The experience during the past year of work with parents has given overwhelming evidence of the intense interest disadvantaged families have in helping their children to succeed in school. It is now incumbent upon school personnel to respond to that interest in a meaningful, creative fashion.

TABLE 1
**DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ABOUT TOTAL
 POPULATION BY GROUP**

| | Group 1 Exp. #1 (N= 24) (1) | Group 2 (N= 26) (2) | Group 3 Control (N= 13) (3) | Group 4 Not Available (N= 17) (4) | Group 5 Refused to Par- ticipate (N= 11) (5) | Total Group (N= 100) (4) |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| Mother's Age (Mean) | 28 | 29 | 31 | 31 | 28 | 29 |
| Mother's Education (Mean) | 10.1 | 10.0 | 10.1 | 10.7 | 10.5 | 10.3 |
| # Siblings (Mean) | 2.4 | 2.5 | 1.4 | 3.2 | 3.4 | 2.5 |
| % on Welfare | 17% | 25% | 23% | 6% | 27% | 19% |
| % with No Father in home | 21% | 38% | 31% | 35% | 18% | 27% |
| % Negroes | 50% | 39% | 54% | 53% | 82% | 49% |
| % Mother Not Working during Year | 46% | 50% | 33% | 6% | 30% | 37% |

- (1) Activity approach
- (2) Discussion approach
- (3) In almost all cases, mother working full time.
- (4) In seven homes, there was no mother.

TABLE 2

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN CHANGE SCORES
 BETWEEN 2 EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS AND 1 CONTROL GROUP IN PARENT PROGRAM
 (Total 15; 12 in Desired Direction)*

| Item | Desired Direction (Post-Pre) | Experimental Groups Changed More in Desired Direction | Description of Item |
|---------|---------------------------------|---|--|
| Parl 87 | Down | Yes | Sex is one of greatest problems with children |
| 32 | Down | No | M. can't stand children a moment longer |
| 25 | Down | No | M. should avoid disappointment for child |
| 95 | Down | Yes | A good M. will find enough social life in family |
| 97 | Down | Yes | M. will sacrifice own fun for children |
| 58 | Down | Yes | There is no reason for a child hitting another child |
| 80 | Down | Yes | M. has right to know everything |
| E | Down | Yes | A busy M. doesn't have time to learn what her children are doing in school |
| Ches 5 | Up | Yes | Quality of gifts purchased for children |
| 10 | Up | Yes | Encyclopedia in home and used |
| 12 | Down | Yes | Child talks most at meals |
| 19 | Up | Yes | M. concerned with child's speech |
| 23 | Up | No | Job desired for child in future |
| 24 | Up | Yes | Educational activities approved of and praised |
| 25 | Up | Yes | College-plans for child |

* Difference is significant; .05, Sign test; 1 tailed test.

TABLE 3

MEAN TEACHER RATING OF MOTHERS' BEHAVIOR
DURING HOME VISITS

| | Grp. 1 (N=24) | Grp. 2 (N=27) | Grp. 3 (N=12) Con- trol | 1&2 ⁽²⁾ Total Strong (N=18) | 1&2 ⁽³⁾ Total Non- Strong (N=33) | 1&2 Total Non- Attend- ers (N=15) | Grp. 4 Not Avail- able (N=11) | Grp. 5 Refused (N=11) |
|---|------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|--|---|-----------------------------|
| % Visits Mother in Home | 94 | 94 | 88 | 98 | 92 | 89 | 86 | 88 |
| Mother's use of Space (1) | 4.2 | 4.6 | 4.4 | 4.6 | 4.3 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 3.6 |
| Mother's Avail- ability(1) | 3.9 | 4.2 | 4.0 | 4.3 | 3.9 | 3.7 | 3.6 | 3.6 |
| Mother's level of Involvement(1) | 3.2 | 3.4 | 3.6 | 3.7 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 2.3 |
| Type of In- volvement | 3.3 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 3.8 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 2.4 |
| % Visits Mothers use Reinforcement | 84% | 82% | 85% | 89% | 79% | 72% | 76% | 64% |
| % Visits Mothers used Punishment | 17% | 21% | 32% | 12% | 23% | 27% | 27% | 32% |
| Mother's ef- fective use of mat'l's. left in home (1) | 4.5 | 4.1 | 4.3 | 4.0 | 3.7 | 3.5 | 2.2 | 2.5 |

(1) Five point rating scale; 5= Best rating; 1= Worst.

(2) Attended 50% or more of 18 meetings.

(3) Attended less than 50% of 18 meetings.

TABLE 4

**COMPARISON OF MEAN PERFORMANCE ON STANFORD BINET
OF GROUP MEMBERS' CHILDREN**

| | Group 1 | | | | Group 2 | | | | Grp. 3 | Grp. 4 | Grp. 5 |
|------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Total (N=24) | Strong (N=10) | Weak (N=9) | Not Attend- ing (N=5) | Total (N=28) | Strong (N=8) | Weak (N=9) | Not Attend- ing (N=11) | (N=13) | (N=17) | (N=11) |
| Initial Binet I.Q. | 95.0 | | | | 95.0 | | | | 95.5 | 100.3 | 99.0 |
| | | 98.8 | 92.0 | 93.0 | | 99.4 | 93.7 | 92.9 | | | |
| Post Binet I.Q. | 104.2 | | | | 104.8 | | | | 102.4 | 108.3 | 98.8 |
| | | 108.9 | 100.8 | 101.2 | | 110.3 | 102.0 | 100.5 | | | |
| Net Gain in Binet I.Q. | 9.2 | | | | 8.8 | | | | 8.9 | 8.0 | .2 |
| | | 10.1 | 8.8 | 8.2 | | 10.9 | 8.3 | 7.6 | | | |

* This figure is significantly different from the net gains of all the other groups at the .05 probability level.

TABLE 5
COMPARISON OF HOLDING POWER OF
TWO EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

| | Group 1 (N=24) | Group 2 (N= 28) | Group 1 & 2 (N=52) |
|---|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Mean # of Meetings attended by members (1) | 6.0 | 4.6 | 5.2 |
| % who never attended any meeting | 21% | 39% | 31% |
| % Who attended one meeting only | 21% | 11% | 16% |
| % Attending 9 meetings or more after attending 1 meeting | 53% | 47% | 50% |
| Mean # of Meetings attended by those who came to at least 1 meeting | 7.6 | 7.6 | 7.6 |
| Mean # of members at any meeting (2) | 7.0 | 6.8 | 6.9 |
| Mean # of Negroes at any meeting (2) | 4.6 | 1.8 | 3.1 |
| % Who attended 50% or more of meetings | 42% | 29% | 35% |

(1) A total of 18 meetings were held

(2) Only last 12 meetings tabulated as there were some shifts within each group-- In first 6 meetings each group originally started with two sections but by the fifth meeting, each had one section.

TABLE 6
CHANGES IN MEAN PERCENT AGREEING
WITH 14 P.A.R.I. CLASS SENSITIVE ITEMS BY
GROUP AND ATTENDANCE (1)

| | Group 1 | | | Group 2 | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | Pre-test | Post-test | Changes | Pre-test | Post-test | Changes |
| Strong Members (2) | 40 (N=8) | 35 | 5 | 28 (N=7) | 13 | 15 |
| Weak Members (3) | 59 (N=8) | 42 | 17 | 55 (N=8) | 52 | 3 |
| Non- Attenders | 66 (N=5) | 57 | 9 | 64 (N=8) | 61 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 53 (N=21) | 43 | 10 | 52 (N=22) | 42 | 10 |

- (1) Only the scores of members with both pre and post data available are included in this computation; agreement reflects a more authoritarian attitude in childrearing typical of lower class mothers.
- (2) Attended at least 50% of the 18 meetings.
- (3) Attended 1 to 18 of the 18 meetings.

TABLE 7
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS BY
GROUP AND ATTENDANCE

| | Group 1 (N= 24) | | | Group 2 (N= 28) | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Strong ⁽¹⁾ (N=10) | Weak ⁽²⁾ (N=9) | Never Attend- ed (N=5) | Strong ⁽¹⁾ (N=8) | Weak ⁽²⁾ (N=9) | Never Attend- ed (N=11) |
| Mother's Age (Mean) | 29 | 29 | 26 | 28 | 30 | 29 |
| Mother's Education (Mean) | 11.1 | 9.8 | 8.8 | 11.4 | 10.2 | 8.9 |
| # of Siblings | 2.7 | 1.9 | 2.6 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 3.0 |
| % on Welfare | 0% | 33% | 20% | 0% | 22% | 45% |
| % with no Father in Home | 0% | 44% | 20% | 0% | 22% | 73% |
| % Negro | 60% * | 44% | 40% | 25% * | 22% | 67% |
| Mothers not working during Year | 40% | 44% | 60% | 50% | 67% | 36% |

(1) Attended at least 50% of the 18 meetings held.

(2) Attended 1-8 meetings.

(*) Significantly different at the .05 probability level.

TABLE 8
MEAN TEACHER RATING OF MOTHERS' BEHAVIOR DURING
HOME VISITS BY GROUP ATTENDANCE

| | Total Grp. 1 | | | Total Grp. 2 | | | |
|--|------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------------------|--|
| | Strong (N=10) | Weak (N=9) | Non- Attender (N= 8) | Strong (N=8) | Weak (N=9) | Non- Attender (N=10) | |
| % Visits Mother in Home | 94 | | | 94 | | | |
| | 98 | 90.3 | 93.8 | 99 | 97.2 | 87.7 | |
| Mother's use of Space (1) | 4.2 | | | 4.6 | | | |
| | 4.5 | 3.7 | 4.4 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 4.7 | |
| Mother's avail- ability (1) ½ | 3.9 | | | 4.2 | | | |
| | 3.9 | 4.0 | 3.6 | 4.9 | 4.1 | 3.7 | |
| Mother's In- volvement (1) | 2.9 | | | 3.4 | | | |
| | 3.0 | 3.0 | 2.7 | 4.0 | 3.0 | 3.2 | |
| Type of in- volvement (1) | 3.3 | | | 3.4 | | | |
| | 3.7 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 4.0 | 3.0 | 3.2 | |
| % visits Mother used reinforcement | 84% | | | 82% | | | |
| | 84% | 94% | 65% | 96% | 76% | 75% | |
| % visits Mother used punishment | 17 | | | 21 | | | |
| | 16 | 10 | 32 | 7 | 30 | 25 | |
| Mother's effect- ive use of mater- ial left in home (1) | 3.5 | | | 4.1 | | | |
| | 3.6 | 3.6 | 3.0 | 4.5 | 3.9 | 3.9 | |

(1) Rating scale of 1 to 5 used; 5= Best rating; 1= Worst.

* The ratings of the strong members of Group 2 are significantly better than ratings of strong members of group 1;

TABLE 9

SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS WITH NUMBER OF PARENT MEETINGS ATTENDED

| Correlation | Item |
|-------------|--|
| .383 * | PPVT IQ at start of Pre-School |
| .258 | Stanford-Binet IQ at start of Pre-School |
| -.369 * | PARI ¹ Factor 1 --- Suffering Matriarch |
| .513 * | CHES ² Factor 1 --- Educational Materials in home |
| -.401 | CHES ² Factor 2 --- Attitude toward grades |
| -.405 * | Welfare status |
| -.505 * | Father in home |
| .365 * | Highest grade completed by mother |
| -.592 * | Recoded mother's skill level |
| -.320 | Recoded father's skill level |

* P .01

- 1) Revision of Parental Attitude Research Instrument described in paper by Radin and Glasser (1965); Factor 1 includes items 74, 4, 62, 56, 45, 25, 71, 97, 89, 57, 20.
- 2) Cognitive Home Environment Scale described in Gale Preschool Program Final Report (Radin and Sonquist, 1968); Factor 1 includes items 4, 7, 8, 9, 10; factor 2 includes items 1 and 2.

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| .383 * | PPVT I Q at start of Pre-School |
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| .513 * | CHES ² Factor 1 --- Educational Materials in home |
| -.401 | CHES ² Factor 2 --- Attitude toward grades |
| -.405 * | Welfare status |
| -.505 * | Father in home |
| .365 * | Highest grade completed by mother |
| -.592 * | Recoded mother's skill level |
| -.320 | Recoded father's skill level |

* P .01

- 1) Revision of Parental Attitude Research Instrument described in paper by Radin and Glasser (1965); Factor 1 includes items 74, 4, 62, 56, 45, 25, 71, 97, 89, 57, 20.
- 2) Cognitive Home Environment Scale described in Gale Preschool Program Final Report (Radin and Sonquist, 1968); Factor 1 includes items 4, 7, 8, 9, 10; factor 2 includes items 1 and 2.

TABLE 10
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF EXPERIMENTAL
GROUP MEMBERS BY ATTENDANCE

| | Strong Members (1) (N=18) | Non-Strong Members (2) (N=33) |
|--|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Mother's Age | 28 | 29 |
| Mother's Education | 11.2 | 9.5 |
| % on Welfare | 0% | 32% |
| % with no Father in home | 0% | 44% |
| # of Siblings | 2.4 | 2.5 |
| % Negro | 44% | 47% |
| % Mothers not work- ing during year | 44% | 50% |

(1) Includes all members of Groups 1 and 2 who attended 50% or more of the 18 meetings.

(2) Includes all members of Groups 1 and 2 who attended at least one meeting but less than 50% of the 18 meetings.

TABLE 11
CHILD AND DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY GROUP ATTENDANCE AND MEMBERSHIP
IN NON-PARTICIPANT GROUP

| | All Strong Members (N=18) (1) | All Weak Members (N=18) (2) | All Non- Attender (N=16) (3) | Group 3 (N=13) | Group 4 (N=17) | Group 5 (N=11) |
|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Mother's Age (Mean) | 28 | 30 | 28 | 31 | 31 | 28 |
| Mother's Education (Mean) | 11.2 | 10.0 | 8.9 | 10.1 | 10.7 | 10.5 |
| % on Wel- fare | 0% | 28% | 38% | 23% | 6% | 27% |
| % with no father in home | 0% | 33% | 56% | 31% | 35% | 18% |
| # of Sib- lings (Mean) | 2.4 | 2.2 | 2.9 | 1.4 | 3.2 | 3.4 |
| % Negro | 44% | 33% | 56% | 54% | 53% | 82% |
| % Mothers never worked | 44% | 56% | 44% | 33% | 6% | 27% |
| % Days Children Present in school | 90% | 85% | 84% | 87% | 84% | 82% |
| Initial Binet I.Q. | 99.0 | 92.8 | 92.9 | 95.5 | 100.3 | 99.0 |
| Post Binet I. Q. | 109.4 | 101.4 | 109.7 | 104.4 | 98.3 | 98.3 |
| Net Gain I. Q. | 10.4 | 8.6 | 7.8 | 8.9 | 8.0 | -.2 |

- (1) Includes members of Groups 1 and 2 who attended 50% or more of 18 meetings.
 (2) Includes members of Groups 1 and 2 who attended 1-8 meetings.
 (3) Includes members of Groups 1 and 2 who attended no meetings.

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